

Ministry of Information

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Statement

of

the regional command of the
Ba'ath Arab socialist party on
results of the party's special
regional congress, march 10-27-1966

**STATEMENT OF THE
PROVISIONAL REGIONAL
LEADERSHIP OF THE
BA'ATH ARAB SOCIALIST
PARTY, MARCH 23, 1966**

**Toiling Masses
of Our People,
Fighting Com-
rades in All
Parts of the
Arab Homeland**

The 8th of March Revolution was intended as a revolution to combat underdevelopment and dismemberment, to fight imperialism and reaction, and to vindicate the will of the toiling masses of the people over that of their exploiters and to realize the aims of the Arab Nation, namely those of Unity, Liberty and Socialism. The Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party, which produced the Revolution and fought fierce battles against the enemies of the people to protect it, expected those enemies to sneak behind the lines and seek the help of those that came to power through the revolutionary movement but without faith or conviction, and to infiltrate to the Revolution through domineering and individualistic trends and the weakness of the hesitant and cowardly whose past and mentality are linked to schools of professional politics.

Forces of backwardness and reaction have tried to reach the centre of the Revolution, to lead it away from its inevitable path to the abyss of individual rule and the methods of bargaining and cringing solicitousness. These forces penetrated to the Party through the individualism of Amine Al-Hafez, the defeatism of Mohd. Imran, the rightist tendency of Salah Al-Bitar and the selfishness of Michel Aflak; they were able, during the last few months, to drag the Party to the verge of destruction. But the Party which had protected the Revolution against all enemies was on the watch out. After giving repeated warnings through all possible party and constitutional channels it decided on a show down in which they would be finally crushed and would thus become a deterrent to all those who might contemplate striking against the Party and the Revolution, acting from within or without.

For two months the Party was patient with them, warning and cautioning. Memoranda of protest were submitted from all the civilian and the military branches of the Party, in Syria and outside it. But they closed their ears to all this. They were requested to convene a regional congress to discuss what they had

done. They refused and threatened to dismiss from the Party all those that would attend the proposed congress.

They were requested to call a national congress as the highest authority in the Party; but again they rejected the request. They were asked to call a special session of the National Council; they refused and their response was always more destruction to the Party and the Revolution, more sabotage and conspiracy and more disregard of the Party and its constitution. Al-Hafez and Imran, though definitely opposed to each other, began to foster sectarianism, tribalism and provincial loyalties in the army and to form coalitions and groups, cooperating with the enemies of the Revolution in order to strike against the Revolution and its pioneering Party. They had no scruples to destroy the unity of the people to achieve their ends and to break the unity of the army to attain their aim of breaking up the Revolution.

Aflak and Bitar stepped up their sabotage and conspiratorial work on the political and popular levels; they accused the Party and sowed dissension among its ranks. They even extended their criminal hands to all cheap

opportunists and to conspiring enemies, making use of them against the Party and its Revolution.

They thought that such alliances would enable them to overpower the Party. Aflak and Al-Bitar believed the military power of Al-Hafez and Imran capable of protecting them, and that they, in turn, could cover Al-Hafez and Imran within the Party; and so they proceeded to destroy the Party and the Revolution.

Those that are disloyal to the Ba'ath Party are inevitably disloyal to the people. Those that take lightly the Party and its organizations also take lightly the will of the people, and the destiny of the nation. Those that fear democratic procedure within the Party and fail to face its congresses cannot achieve democracy for the people.

Amine Al-Hafez thought that, through the help of the Intelligence Department and a handful of mercenary opportunists, he could strike at the Party and establish a military dictatorship.

Amine Al-Hafez believed that the Intelligence Department could tarnish the reputation of the Party with the aim of making the people lose hope of gaining control of their revolutionary movement and also to deal a blow to the Party and its fighting members.

But Amine Al-Hafez forgot that the Party, which believed in collective leadership had the power to destroy any individual who tries to establish an individualist dictatorial regime. Amine Al-Hafez forgot that the Party which made the March Revolution and destroy the enemies of the people could likewise destroy domineering and deviationist individuals. Amine Al-Hafez forgot that those who betray the Party that fostered them are doomed to a black fate.

Amine Al-Hafez failed to realize that the Party would not permit the emergence of a new (Aref) within its ranks. By this he earned the everlasting curse and condemnation of the Party and the toiling masses.

As for Moh. Imran, who had been condemned by the Party, and sent out of Syria when he had tried to bargain over the Party

and the Revolution and to destroy the unity of the Party, he was recalled as a challenge to the will of the Party and its fighting comrades, so that through him they might — and he, through them, also might — carry out the plans of the enemies of the people, the Party and the Revolution. But the Revolution was vigilant and he shall reap what he has sown.

**To the Toiling
Masses of our
People,**

In its fighting course, our Party has had to contend fiercely against Aflaq-Bitar mentality, which has continually tried to stand in the way of the Party's development and its revolutionary progress by opposing and sending away active members of the Party and by disseminating a spirit of personal loyalty and opportunism. And now, after the dissensions that have delayed the struggle of the Party and brought to a halt its historic march, the same mentality has reappeared in order to liquidate the Party in Syria, after having struck against the Party and its Revolution in the Sister Arab

country of Iraq, and thereby contributed to the ill-omened October setabeck.

**Comrades in all
parts of the
Arab Homeland**

The national unity of the Party is the only way to ensure the achievement of the Arab people. If the Aflaq mentality has tried to place barriers between the Party organizations in the Arab Homeland and to use one organization against the other, using the conditions of the fierce struggle of these organisations to keep them weak and thereby prevent them from moving against it, this new move of the Party is in effect a serious fresh start along the path of realising the national unity of the Party and infusing it with life and a fighting spirit. A revolution is needed to remove the historical contradiction that, for a long time, checked the progress of the Party; a revolution is inevitable to renew the March Revolution and to destroy all the obstacles that have delayed its progress on the local and the national levels.

New that this revolution has been effected

and the Party has won a victory over those who have conspired against it from within, we affirm our adherence to the national unity of the Party and call for a return to the legality which was ignored and by-passed by the Aflq mentality.

Workers, Peasants and Members of the Toiling Masses of Our People,

The Revolution, which was started on March 8 to serve your cause, is now striking against those who wanted to betray you and to conspire against you, against those who have extended a hand to capitalism and reactionary feudalism that used to exploit you. Unless the workers, peasants, artisans and small wage-earners are made the backbone of the Revolution, this Revolution can not be one of progress and justice.

The toiling class is called upon to engage in the fight against its exploiters, to participate in building the socialist democratic society and to

enlist itself for the great battle of the nation. Now that the Party has put a final end to those who tried to trifle with your Revolution, you are called upon to shoulder responsibilities of the Revolution. Your blood-sucking exploiters are warned that any move aimed at hindering the Revolution, or causing trouble, will be mercilessly crushed.

**To the Arab
Toiling Masses,**

With the resolution of the Party's national and regional congresses as a guide, the Ba'ath Arab SocialArab Socialist Party declares that the Revolution will always support the toiling masses against their exploiters, the progressive pro-unity forces against the forces of reaction and secession, the revolutionary socialist forces against the forces of Zionism and imperialism. The Party and the Revolution will stand, firmly and regardless of sacrifices, against pacts which are trying to encircle progressive regimes and revolutionary movements in the Arab Homeland. Believing that the revolutionary meeting of all revolutionary movements and organiza-

tions in the Arab Homeland is the only solution that can save the Arab nation from the power of imperialism and Zionism and can free the usurped parts of the Arab Homeland, and face the challenge of under-development, dismemberment and the building of the unified socialist Arab society, the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party, with faith and consciousness, declares this meeting as a target for which it will use all its potential, initiative and patience. A great battle awaits us to achieve the liberation and unity of the Arab nation. Doctrinal separation and the self-seclusion of revolutionary movements and their fear to meet and place their potential in the battle will prove a major cause of their disintegration and the destruction of one movement after the other. The meeting of progressive forces and organizations around an Arab strategy that unifies and defines the national battle will make inevitable the unity of the countries in which victory is achieved.

The leftist forces in the Arab Homeland are called upon to unify their ranks and to fight a decisive battle against the reactionary forces which are backed by world imperialism.

**To the Toiling
Masses of the
Arab People,**

The Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party has always been against autocratic rule in all its shapes and forms and against all military domination regardless of its type and pretext. It considers armies in under-developed countries to be two kinds, either professional armies used by foreign and local monopolies to stifle the aspirations of the masses or armies converted by revolutionary movements into people's armies allied to the interests of the masses. The ideological army is the only revolutionary method to convert the army into the (vanguard) of the fight of the Arab nation for the achievement of the Arab national aims and the tragets of the Arab masses while preserving military stamp and discipline. The way to create such an army is through an organic and fateful integration of Party and army through which a revolutionary concept of discipline is confirmed, a concept based on faith in values and not on fear of death.

Brothers and Comrades,

The Revolution is not a mere passing event in our lives. It is our destiny and the only road leading to the achievement of the aims of our nation, those of Unity, Liberty and Socialism. It requires on the part of the leading Party an ideal behaviour and a faith bordering on asceticism, so that the masses can see through that behaviour and faith the glorious vision of the future and would in consequence be willing to forego its daily demands to serve the great cause on which our destiny depends, that of freeing the Homeland and building up the united Arab democratic-socialist homeland, that of the victory, once and for all, of the Arab toiling masses, over all their exploiters as well as over all aspects of the old and new colonialism and their main base, Israel.

The Revolution does not consist in taking fleeting individual heroic attitudes. It is rather an agitation in the soul and a conscious and patient faith in the cause of the people, an adherence to a behaviour based on principles,

and a rejection by fighting comrades of the conventional concepts of life which are permissible to ordinary and opportunist men but is strict taboo to the upholders of a mission. After the Party has put a final end to those who used to protect opportunists, profiteers and corrupt elements, it declares its unshakable determination to bring to trial all those who tried to cause injury to the people and the dignity of citizens, to hinder the socialist conversion process or to amass wealth at the expense of the Revolution.

Toiling Masses and Comrades,

The Provisional Regional Leadership of the Party, having taken charge of the Revolution announces the following:

1. Its adherence to resolutions of the National and Regional congresses of the Party, as well as to the Party Program and the statement of policy of the former government of the country.
2. Bringing to trial those who have caused

- injury to the people and the Revolution.
3. Referring arrested party members to a special high Party Court.
 4. Adverting immediate attention to the economic situation which has fallen into neglect as a result of contradictions within the leadership of the Revolution. This will be effected through a confirmation and development of socialist measures along scientifically-prepared plans.
 5. Considering itself a provisional regional leadership pending the holding of the next Regional Congress, date of which will be determined in consultation with the secretaries of the civilian and military branches of the Party.
 6. Inviting representatives of the Party organizations throughout the Arab Homeland to a national congress, date of which will be determined by a preparatory committee, to be set up by these organizations.

Glory to our mission !

Damascus 23.2.1966

**The Provisional Regional Leadership
of the
Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party**

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